FIVE CENTS

# The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

MAY 8, 1915

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## Deputation of the Congressional Union to Senator O'Gorman

### New York Suffragists Arrive at Senator O'Gorman's Office

Vol. III May 8, 1915 No. 19

# The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

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## Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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# News of the Week

### More Trouble in New Jersey

THE New Jersey referendum is not yet out of the woods. Governor Fielder has called a special session of the legislature to correct the suffrage amendment so that it will be workable. The latest of the series of errors, impossible to consider accidents, which have one after another been detected in the bill, is a contradiction between two of its paragraphs. This error threatened to kill the whole measure. The Governor sent to the legislature a repealer of the defective bill and a new bill, both prepared by the Attorney General, but the Senate amended the new bill before passing it. These amendments are certain to undergo microscopic examination by the suffragists to see that they introduce no new defects.

### Woman Lawyer Appointed to Defend Women in Police Courts

WOMEN brought before Los Angeles police courts are to have an official legal defender of their own sex. Mrs. Patricia Norman, a lawyer, has been appointed by the police court judges of that city to defend women prisoners who are without other counsel. It appears that the officers who arrest women for certain offenses sometimes tell them that the easiest way to get off is to plead guilty, and that women who are innocent often plead guilty because they do not know their legal rights. To do away with this evil, the judges have appointed Mrs. Norman to investigate all cases of undefended women and see that they take advantage of their rights.

We would not detract from the credit due the California magistrates for this apparently voluntary act of consideration and justice toward a class of women too often held to have no rights. But we would like to know if there is on record any similar act by police judges in a non-suffrage state.

### Women Lawyers in New York City

THE demand of the Woman Lawyers' Association that two women judges be appointed to the Children's Court in New York City is opposed by the Bar Association of New York on the ground that their appointment would be unconstitutional. The Bar Association had influence enough to defeat the bill which the Women Lawyers' Association had introduced in the legislature last March, but the women are already preparing to wage a winning fight for it in the next session.

### Congressional Neglect of the Feeble-Minded

MISS JULIA LATHROP, Chief of the Children's Bureau, recently made a strong plea for the establishment of an institution to care for the 1,500 feeble-minded persons of the District of Columbia.

"All over the United States we have been singularly oblivious of this important question," said Miss Lathrop. "In every home where a person of feeble mentality lives, there is a heavy burden for the others to carry. Many such persons are in the Government Hospital for the Insane, and, while they are well cared for it is no place for them to be, especially the children. We ought not to rest until we have erected a great institution where young and old, white and colored, can be lodged happily.

"If Congress could see some of the letters the children's bureau has received from the mothers of the feeble-minded, such a foundation would be put ahead of the building of dreadnoughts and aeroplanes, I am sure."

### Reappearance of The Suffragette

THE SUFFRAGETTE, the official organ of the Women's Social and Political Union, the militant suffrage organization headed by Mrs. Pankhurst, which suspended publication at the beginning of the war, has re-appeared. Interesting pictures are given of women acting as porters, tramcar conductors, agricultural and dairy workers, van-drivers and cleaners of railway carriages. Girls are shown in the uniforms of messengers and hotel pages.

Says *The Suffragette*, "The Government's assurance that 'any woman who, by working, helps to release a man or equip a man for fighting, does national war service. Every woman who can work and is free to work, should come forward,' finally destroys the case against votes for women. It is women's voteless condition that is the chief reason for making their industrial co-operation dangerous to the wage standards of men."

### Conflict Between Referendum and Constitutional Convention in New York

NEW YORK suffragists at an advanced stage of their referendum campaign, have been obliged to meet an unusual situation caused by the prospect that the Constitutional Convention now in session in that state will submit to the voters either a new constitution or the old one unchanged at the same time that the suffrage constitutional amendment is submitted.

The constitution submitted by the Convention, whether a new one or the old one unchanged, will, if ratified, supersede the old one, including the suffrage amendment to it, should the latter also be ratified.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Chairman of the Empire State Campaign Committee; Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, President of the Women's Political Union, and other suffrage leaders, appeared before the suffrage committee of the Constitutional Convention at Albany last Wednesday to safe-guard the submission of the question to the voters without any confusion or legal complications. The best method by which to accomplish this is not yet determined.

Two methods have been proposed. The first is the adoption by the Convention of a resolution introduced by Herbert Parsons, one of the few members of the Convention in favor of suffrage, providing for three things. In the first place its adoption would pledge the Constitutional Convention to ignore the suffrage question. In the second place it would bind the convention to do no tinkering with Section 1, Article II, of the Constitution, which defines the qualifications of voters. In the third place it calls for the separate submission of the women suffrage amendment. The second is the proposal of Mrs. Blatch, that the amendment shall be voted on separately on November 2d, and the constitution submitted by the Convention at a later date.

With a larger campaign fund and more complete organization than any state has heretofore had, and a rapid growth of suffrage sentiment among both people and politicians, the prospects for a favorable vote on the referendum are unexpectedly bright. The situation which has arisen demonstrates anew the disadvantages of referendums and the astuteness of anti-suffrage politicians who encourage suffragists to undertake them.

Nevertheless, although the present difficulty is, from the uncertainty it involves one of the most trying that ever confronted suffragists, it can certainly be adjusted by such action on the part of the convention as they are in honor bound to, and such as the women heading the campaign have given them to understand is fully expected from them.

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# COMING CONVENTIONS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL UNION

TWO Congressional Union conventions will be held next week; that of the District of Columbia, the parent body, in Washington on Wednesday, May 12, while the Delaware branch of the Union will hold its first convention in Wilmington on the 13th and 14th.

The business session of the Washington convention will be held at Rauscher's at three o'clock in the afternoon, the program including a review of the work for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, by Mrs. Helena Hill Weed; the Record of the Sixty-third Congress on Suffrage, by Mrs. Nina E. Allender; Discussion of the two suffrage amendments, by Miss Lucy Burns; Future Plans, by Miss Elsie Hill, and the presentation of the constitution, following the consideration of which officers will be elected for the coming year. Mrs. Robert Baker will act as chairman of the meeting.

At the banquet to be given in the evening, also at Rauscher's, brief addresses will be delivered by Major Raymond Pullman, recently appointed Superintendent of Police to succeed Major Sylvester, whose administration of the Police Department of Washington was distinguished by his elaborate failure to provide adequately for the procession and pageant of March 3, 1914; General Nelson A. Miles, United States Army, retired; Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Miss Ruth Astor Noyes, Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, and Mrs. Inez Haynes Gilmore. Particular interest attaches to Mrs. Gilmore's presence, as this will be her first appearance among the Washington members of the Union since she became a member of the Advisory Council, and to many of them she nas only been known heretofore by the reputation she has won as the author of the wholly delightful Phoebe and Ernest stories, the allegorical novel "Angel Island," and other equally well-known contributions to leading magazines.

Other speakers, whom we are delighted to announce are Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, member of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union; Miss Maud Younger, of California, and Mr. Thomas J. Walsh, chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission, now in session at Washington.

A feature of the evening will be the presentation of the play "In Defense of a Mother," by Miss Hazel MacKaye, which illustrates an incident in the life of Susan B. Anthony. The characters in the play will be portrayed by Miss Emma Crans, Miss Elsie Hill, Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, Mr. Howard Treat and Mr. George W. Latimer.

An interesting feature of the Delaware Convention will be the deputation to Representative-elect Thomas W. Miller on the morning of May 14. This will be the first occasion on which the suffrage question will have been presented to Mr. Miller officially, and high hopes are entertained by the Delaware members of the Union that he will prove as progressive in regard to this measure as he has concerning other public questions.

The delegation will assemble at the Delaware Avenue headquarters, and, preceded by a band, will march to the Hotel DuPont, where the interview will take place. Members of the Executive Committee will head the deputation in automobiles decorated with the purple, white and gold of the Congressional Union. They will be followed by Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, chairman for Delaware, bearing the national colors; Mrs. Thomas McGee, who will carry the state flag, and Mrs. Victor DuPont, carrying the new Congressional Union banner for Delaware. The "Amendment Banner" will be borne by Mrs. Mary E. Brown, Miss Margaret Lofland, and Mrs. William Staniar. Miss Mathilde Seipp will serve as marshal of the procession. Fully two hundred women in white, wearing the regalia and carrying purple, white and gold pennants, will take part in the demonstration.

The reply of Mr. Miller will be reported to the convention in the afternoon. Miss Elsie Hill will speak on "The Life and Ideals of Susan B. Anthony," and in the evening in response to repeated demands that "War Brides" should be presented during convention week, the Arden Dramatic Club will give a special performance of Marion Craig Wentworth's tragic little play under the direction of Mr. Frank Stephens.

THE Wisconsin Convention for the Congressional Union has been set under way under the happiest auspices. Miss Zona Gale and Miss Ada James, both members of the Board of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, have undertaken to start the work for a Congressional Union Convention in their state. Miss Gale recently wrote to Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union, "It looks to me as if the future work in Wisconsin will be for the Federal Amendment. * * * Congratulations to you, and to us, for what you are doing."

# NATURALIZED CITIZENS AND AMERICAN WOMEN

THE President of the United States will go to Philadelphia on May 10th, expressly to welcome into American citizenship 4,000 newly naturalized and enfranchised foreign men. A large number of American women citizens of the State of Pennsylvania, who are a disfranchised class, and whose right to the ballot will be voted upon by these same naturalized foreigners next November, desire to meet the President on this occasion.

Already Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Jr., Pennsylvania Chairman of the Congressional Union, and Mrs. Harry Lowenburg, member of the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia Equal Franchise Association, have asked the President to receive a deputation of representative Pennsylvania women in Philadelphia on May 10th. Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Lowenburg called at the Executive Offices on Wednesday and left the request.

It is expected that the President will receive the deputation since he is giving the whole day to the newly-enfranchised foreigners and must necessarily be willing to acord an interview to the women of Pennsylvania.

Among the prominent women who have signified their intention of joining the deputation to President Wilson are: Mrs. Wilford Lewis, President of the Philadelphia Equal Franchise Society, and President of the Women's Medical Society of Philadelphia; Mrs. Henry C. Justice, wife of the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Men's League for Woman Suffrage; Mrs. Joseph Fels, widow of the noted Single Taxer; Miss Mary Burnham, President of the Philadelphia League for Good Government; Mrs. Anna Lowenburg, member of the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia Equal Franchise Society; Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, President of the Philadelphia Home and School League and member of the Philadelphia Vice Commission; Mrs. Earl Barnes, wife of the noted lecturer and sociologist; Miss Fannie T. Cochran, member of the Board of the Philadelphia Consumers' League; and Mrs. Samuel Fels, President of the Philadelphia Consumers' League; Mrs. Frank Easby, daughter of Mrs. Charlotte Pierce, the only surviving member of the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848; Miss Mary Conkle, Secretary of the Wayne County, Pennsylvania, Woman Suffrage Party; Mrs. Frank Miles Day, Chairman, Pennsylvania Legislative Conference and Vice President, Pennsylvania Child Labor Association (one of the best known women in Pennsylvania); Mrs. John C. Hirst, wife of Dr. Hirst, of the Union of Pennsylvania (one of the most prominent physicians in the city); Miss Carolina Katzenstein, Executive Secretary of the Philadelphia Equal Franchise Society; Miss Florence Sanville, formerly Secretary, Consumers' League of Eastern Pennsylvania; Miss Anna Bavies, Headworker, Philadelphia College Settlement; Miss Cornelia Greenough, prominent Philadelphia artist; Mrs. Thomas Williams, wife of a prominent Philadelphia lawyer; Mrs. Lucretia M. B. Mitchell, member Philadelphia Committee of the Congressional Union; Miss Harriet Dulles, member Executive Board of Consumers' League of Eastern Pennsylvania; Mrs. Mary C. Morgan, wife of the editor of the *Philadelphia Record;* Mrs. Chas. Z. Clauder, member of the Board of Mt. Airy and Chestnut Hill Branch of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Wm. Albert Wood, Grand Marshall of the May Day Suffrage Parade in Philadelphia; Miss Martha Moore, Chairman, Friends' Equal Rights Association of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; Mrs. M. A. Eshne, President, Jewish Council of Women; Dr. Helena Goodwin, prominent Philadelphia physician; Mrs. J. Archer Rulon, Treasurer, Mt. Airy and Chestnut Hill Branch of the Congressional Union; Mrs. H. H. Burrell, wife of one of the foremost architects of Philadelphia.

## New Member of the Advisory Council

MRS. FREDERICK SANBORN, California President of the Women's Board of the Exposition, of which Mrs. Phoebe Hearst is Honorary President, has joined the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union.

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## The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein)*, That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

### HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

**Drafted**

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

**First Introduced**

Into Congress, January 10th, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

**Reported from Committee,**

**In the Senate,**

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

**In the House,**

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

**Voted Upon**

**In the Senate,**

January 25th, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26, (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

**In the House,**

January 12th, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

## Senator O'Gorman and U. S. Constitution

THE deputation of the Congressional Union to Senator O'Gorman was most satisfactory. It brought one of the leaders of the Democratic Party out into the open with the declaration that woman suffrage is not a national matter.

What we have now to do is to persuade Senator O'Gorman and his party—or failing that, to persuade the women voters of the country,—that if the Democratic Party says that woman suffrage is not a national matter, it is plainly in the wrong.

It has never been a principle of the Democratic Party that the Constitution of the United States could not be amended in any and every particular, provided that three-fourths of the states were willing to accept such amendment.

It has never been a principle of that party that if one-fourth the states were unwilling to accept the will of three-fourths, the will of three-fourths should not be allowed to prevail.

Senator O'Gorman thinks that the states ought to have the right to regulate suffrage. Most people would agree with him that the state should have a right to impose certain qualifications disfranchising unfit citizens; but that the men of a state should have the right to disfranchise all the women of the state, fit and unfit, is absolutely untrue. All we are asking under a federal suffrage amendment is that a woman, otherwise qualified, should not be disfranchised merely because she is a woman.

Senator O'Gorman declares that we show a lack of confidence in our cause when we abandon the method of appealing to the electors of every state for a state suffrage amendment. Confidence in our cause is not a good reason for going the longest way to obtain our object. It is much easier and more direct for women to obtain their freedom by a single amendment to the Constitution of the United States, than by an amendment to the Constitutions of the thirty-seven states which have not yet granted women the vote. Politicians who try to persuade us to work only state by state and not to appeal also to the national government for the national enfranchisement of women are simply trying to turn us away from the short road to success.

Senator O'Gorman declares that the enfranchisement of women by federal amendment "violates every principle of home rule or local self-government." Does the clause in our Constitution, forbidding any state to deny a citizen the right of trial by jury, violate every principle of local self-government? All patriotic Americans believe that this clause recognizes a just principle which is valid in every part of the United States and which no locality ought to have the right to deny. The right of women to self-government is also a great national principle which no locality should deny.

In defending his party at election time, Senator O'Gorman will find it hard to explain to the women voters of the West why the national enfranchisement of women is not a question to be decided nationally. A Democratic Judge in Oregon said recently: "To keep one-half the citizens disfranchised until each state in turn gets through tinkering with a question of palpable right, amounts to an assault upon common sense."

ONE of Senator O'Gorman's reasons for declining to support the federal suffrage amendment was because of his deep reverence for the "wise and beneficent provisions" of the United States Constitution.

Another reason is that if the proposed amendments secured the approval of thirty-six states it would then be "imposed" on the remaining twelve states.

Does Senator O'Gorman not realize that the method of adopting an amendment to the Constitution on the approval of three-fourths of the state legislatures is ONE of the wise and beneficent provisions of the United States Constitution?

The high wisdom of the fathers was best proved when they provided a method of amending the Constitution to meet the changing needs of the centuries to come.

If it were necessary to secure the approval of all the states before an amendment to the Constitution could be adopted, it would be practically impossible to amend the Constitution at all; and a Constitution which cannot be amended cannot endure.

STILL another objection of Senator O'Gorman's to any Constitutional amendment is that the state of New York with its population of 10,000,000 would be at a disadvantage against the states with a smaller population.

But this provision is the bulwark of those "states' rights" which Senator O'Gorman so manfully defends, and was expressly inserted in the Constitution in order that the smaller states might preserve their integrity against the overwhelming voting power of the larger states.

SENATOR O'GORMAN'S answer to the Suffragists on April 30th was an extraordinary confusion of contradictory principles out of which only one thing stood clear, that he had not as yet seen the wisdom of extending the franchise to women.

# CONGRESSIONAL UNION DEPUTATION TO SENATOR O'GORMAN

THE deputation including a large number of the best known women of New York drew from Senator O'Gorman last Friday, April 30th, a definite statement of his stand on the question of national woman suffrage, and an elaborate argument in defense of his position.

The Senator refused positively to support the proposed federal amendment enfranchising women. He added that he would oppose any amendment of the National Constitution unless it was imperatively demanded by the people of his state, remarking parenthetically that he could "fill another room as large as this with women who do not want the vote."

Nothing, perhaps, was more indicative of the gulf which yawns between Senator O'Gorman and the suffragists of the country than his comment during the interview: "Aren't you women going too hastily?" There was a long drawn breath of resentment, and then a cry of protest, "Too quickly! After forty years!"

"Can freedom come too quickly?" asked Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain.

"But, you know," said Senator O'Gorman, "the women do not have to depend upon amendments. They are very powerful," he continued, politely.

"Yes," agreed Mrs. Crytal Eastman Benedict. "The women voters are a power in the country. They have tools with which to work. It is only a question of time when we will unite the voters to force some of our issues."

The interview took place by appointment at four o'clock Friday afternoon in Senator O'Gorman's office, at 37 Wall Street. It was preceded by an open air meeting in front of the Sub-Treasury Building at Wall and Broad Streets. From 2:30 until 3 o'clock the stirring music of a band playing national and popular airs made its own appeal to the rapidly gathering crowd which assembled on the Sub-Treasury steps and packed the sidewalk and all available space within hearing distance of the two automobiles, gayly decorated with the purple, white and gold flags of the Union, and the deputation banner bearing the pointed question. From these automobiles brief speeches were made by Mrs. Henry Bruere, wife of the chamberlain of the city of New York, Mrs. Louise Thurber, and Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, who dealt in detail with the record of the Democratic party on the woman suffrage question.

The temper of the crowd was distinctly sympathetic. Several New York newspapers afterwards commented on the change from the jeering disorder with which suffrage speeches were formerly greeted in the down town district to the respectful attention which was accorded the Congressional Union speakers. Not only from the sidewalk came applause, but from the crowded office windows overlooking the street. At the close of the meeting, the crowd almost to a man, fell in behind the 200 women forming the deputation proper, in response to the invitation extended by Mrs. Stubbs, and followed in procession to Senator O'Gorman's office.

PROMPTLY at four o'clock the Senator emerged from his private office and greeted the deputation which completely filled the spacious outer room. Stepping forward, Mrs. William L. Colt, the chairman of the deputation, addressed him, briefly explaining the object of the interview, and adding in conclusion:

**Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain Addressing Senator O'Gorman**

"We do not ask you your personal belief on this question, because we believe all thinking men of today have accepted the principle of woman suffrage. We merely ask you to see the wisdom of referring this question to the various state legislatures."

She then introduced in succession Miss Doris Stevens, Mrs. John Rogers, Mrs. William Prendergast, Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict and Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain.

Miss Stevens briefly and earnestly expressed the feelings of those who are seeking to secure the passage of the federal amendment.

"Women today are asking the Congress of the United States to remove their political disability because they feel that the most democratic way to right a wrong is by the shortest route," she said. "We can scarcely see the justice of having to appeal to a great number of recently naturalized aliens upon the question of political liberty for women, to say nothing of long standing prejudices against progress which we find lodged in the minds of the unthinking. We think it ill becomes statesmen to ask us to gain our freedom in the most wasteful and difficult way. We do not forget that you helped us gain our first political triumph in the United States Senate by voting as a member of the steering committee of that body to create a majority woman suffrage committee to deal with this most important question, and we now come to you to ask you to show the same democratic spirit in the coming Congress by voting to refer the question without further delay to the several legislatures of the states."

"Why," asked Mrs. William Prendergast, taking up the argument, "should woman suffrage be a matter of geography? Isn't it incongruous for a president of the United States to listen with attention and respect (the attention and respect which the ballot commands) to the women of one section of the country, and at the same time ignore the opinions of women of another section? Isn't it incongruous for a candidate for the presidency to appeal for support to the women of one section while the women of another section stand by powerless to help or hinder his nomination?

"If 'votes for women' is logical and just in one state, it is logical and just in every state in the Union.

"Each state has its own problems to consider, but 'votes for women' will in no way complicate those problems, in fact, I believe it will tend in many ways to simplify them."

In anticipation of the re-appearance of the venerable argument of states' rights, the remarks of Mrs. Benedict and Mrs. Boissevain were directed to the tattered remnants of that issue which have survived the congressional debate on prohibition.

"We cannot believe," Mrs. Boissevain said, frankly, "in the sincerity of this excuse. We have seen the doctrine of states' rights vigorously attacked by the very gentlemen in Congress who oppose our amendment. Mr. Stephens, of Mississippi, said in debate on the Hobson resolution: 'The fiction that we are 48 different peoples finds no lodgment in my mind. In fact, we are one people, with one language. Our hopes and aims are one. All that would benefit or injure part of the country indirectly benefits or injures the whole. * * * Even though an amendment should have the effect of depriving a state of some right that it now possesses, the state has no ground of complaint, and there is no infringement of states' rights, if such amendment is adopted in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. There is

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a wide and well defined distinction between an invasion of the rights of states, and a delegation of further power to the national government by the states. The fact that provision is made for amendment would settle the proposition, if it was brought in question.'

"He might have been arguing for the suffrage amendment, might he not?

"Or Mr. Howard, of Georgia (who voted against us), who said in the course of his remarks on prohibition: 'Are we as representatives of the American people so cowardly as to refuse to submit the question to them, that they may through their regularly elected legislatures express the will of the majority as to this great national problem?'

"Mr. Garrett, of Texas, had much to say along this line, and he too voted against our amendment. Mr. Tribble, of Georgia, who voted against us, said, again of prohibition, however, 'If three-fourths of the states desire this amendment, then one-fourth should not complain.' Exactly the way we feel with regard to our amendment.

"All of these arguments, you perceive, might have proceeded from suffragists. Yet they are made by democrats and they are made, moreover, in the hope of laying the states' rights bogey. Nevertheless, when we suffragists approach the democratic party with our plea, we are naively presented with this bogey as an excuse for the party's failure to act on our behalf.

"In view of such utterances from members of your own party, in view of the fact that they themselves have been responsible for an amendment to the constitution (the income tax), in view of eighteen precedents for the amendment of the Constitution (including the direct election of Senators), and in view of the further fact that Indians and negroes have been granted the suffrage through federal action, the decision of the democratic party in caucus that woman suffrage is not a federal question must be regarded as an evasion of the issue. There is direct and indirect precedent for federal action on the suffrage question. So, Mr. Senator, you cannot blame us for asking you to let us know where you, as a distinguished representative of your party, stand. Those who are not with us are against us."

SENATOR O'GORMAN'S reply was a definite and positive refusal to support the suffrage amendment. His official statement was as follows:

"I have great respect for the women of the country who are devoting their time and energy to the advancement of this movement, but much as I applaud your public spirit, I am unable to respond to your call to support the cause in which you are so ardently enlisted. I supposed my attitude on this question was well known, for I have frequently declared that I was opposed to any and all proposals for woman suffrage by amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

"It has been the doctrine of the Democratic Party since the inception of the Government that all such matters should be left to the States, and I cannot on principle support an amendment which would deprive the States of the regulation of the suffrage and confer it upon the Federal Government. The Constitution of the United States did not prescribe the qualifications of suffrage. In the convention that adopted the Constitution it was determined by the venerable men that framed that great instrument, that the question of suffrage belonged to the States and was not to be dictated or exercised by the Federal Government.

"States that want woman suffrage can bestow it now as freely and as effectively as the Federal Government could if the Federal Constitution were amended for that purpose. The sole effect of the proposed amendment seems to be to force woman suffrage on the States that are opposed to it. I cannot favor this compulsory method. It violates every principle of home rule or local self-government. This question, in my judgment, should be settled by each State for itself. If this amendment is as meritorious as its advocates contend, they should be willing to allow each State to determine the question for itself.

MRS. CRYSTAL EASTMAN BENEDICT

A Spokesman of the Deputation to Senator O'Gorman

"I am opposed to unnecessary changes in the Constitution. We have lived and prospered under it for more than one hundred and twenty-five years. It has stood the storms and tempests; it has survived the vicissitudes of wars and conflicts; but under its wise and beneficent provisions we have become a mighty nation. Prudence admonishes us to be slow in removing ancient landmarks. Why should we abandon a system of government under which the people, men and women, have enjoyed a measure of prosperity, happiness and progress unparalleled among the nations of the earth?

"If this amendment were submitted to the people of the country, it would be adopted if it secured the approval of thirty-six states, that being three-quarters of the entire number. The remaining twelve states would then have imposed upon them a governmental policy against which their protests would be of no avail, and this might result in a majority of the people being compelled to yield to the demands of a minority, because there are twelve states, including New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio, which contain fifty-five per cent of the population of the United States, while the other thirty-six states, which would be sufficient to carry the amendment, represent but forty-five per cent of the entire population.

"Whenever a constitutional amendment is submitted to the country, New York is at a disadvantage. Although we have ten per cent of the entire population and contribute much more than ten per cent of the entire cost of maintaining the Federal Government, we count but one in the vote of the forty-eight states. On such an issue, the eighty-one thousand inhabitants of Nevada are as influential as the ten million inhabitants of the State of New York.

"For these reasons, I should consider it my duty to oppose any amendment to the Constitution of the United States not imperatively demanded by the people of my state. With regard to this question, no such demand has yet manifested itself. Under the Constitution, every state reserves control over its own affairs and over its own government. To permit the Federal Government to interfere with the suffrage is to destroy the fundamental rights of the States. As a Senator from the State of New York, I have no right to surrender any of her fundamental state powers, and I am unwilling to deprive other States of their fundamental state powers.

"Since every State can adopt woman suffrage if it so desires, I can see no necessity whatsoever for this change in the Federal Constitution. The eleven States that have woman suffrage adopted it without compulsion or coercion. Why should other States be deprived of the same privilege? Why should States that do not want woman suffrage be compelled to accept it because other States favor it? Those States that have adopted woman suffrage have done so without the need of an amendment to the Federal Constitution; the remaining States may do likewise if they are so inclined.

"It is true that the Constitution has been amended so as to provide an income tax and to permit the direct election of United States Senators; but these amendments were necessary, because these reforms could not be accomplished by the States alone. Moreover, they had a direct and necessary relation to the Federal Government itself. And the Democratic Party in State and National Convention had pledged the party to their support.

"The Fifteenth Amendment, which was designed to enfranchise the negroes, was adopted under extraordinary circumstances. It was a war measure and an incident to the abolition of slavery.

"These changes in the Constitution of the United States offer no excuse or justification for the proposed amendment. I recognize the great importance of the question of woman suffrage, but it is equally important that there should be no needless interference with the rights of each State to regulate the suffrage according to the judgment of its own citizens. The population of the eleven States that have already adopted woman suffrage is relatively small. In at least one of them, there are more square miles than inhabitants, and the entire population of the eleven States is two million less than that of the State of New York.

"Nothing that has been said here today has altered my judgment that this is purely a State question. Entertaining these views, I regret that I cannot become an advocate of the plan to amend the Federal Constitution in the manner proposed."

# A Letter to *The Suffragist*

*To the Editor of The Suffragist:*

Some weeks ago a prominent suffrage leader from one of the nations in Europe now at war visited this country on the two-fold business of attending suffrage meetings and conventions, and lecturing on the war. In the course of her first public talk on suffrage, if the newspaper reports are to be credited, she took occasion to condemn with great bitterness and in sweeping terms the people, the rulers, and the causes of one of the other belligerent nations. Again, if the papers are to be credited, she did the same thing in a speech at the Nashville Suffrage Convention.

As a friend of the suffrage movement in America I have watched and waited ever since for some public word which would have assured the American people that the suffragists of this country did not sanction and were not pleased by these speeches, and do not approve of any such presumptious and tactless violation of the President's neutrality proclamation. I have been disappointed that no such disclaimer has been issued, and therefore, I beg to ask you whether such activities and occurrences as I have referred to have or have not the approval of American suffragists, so far as you know?

Very truly yours,

*A Friend.*

[Neither the Congressional Union nor any other American suffrage organization endorses any of the countries involved in the present war. They take this position because they are by the nature of their organization devoted to a single object, the enfranchisement of women;—not in obedience to the "neutrality proclamation" of President Wilson, since Mr. Wilson does not represent the great majority of women in this country, and his official recommendations have no especial weight with them.—Ed.]

# CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE COUNTRY

## California

Headquarters: *Congressional Union Booth in the Palace of Education, Exposition Grounds, San Francisco.*

Chairman: *Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney.*

Organizer: *Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore.*

MANY events are being held every week at the Panama-Pacific Exposition that make the question of national suffrage through the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution dominant in the minds of women visitors from every section of the country. An unusually crowded week closes today, Thursday, April 29, with fifty new members added to the Congressional Union. In the little more than two months since organization work was taken up at the exposition nearly five hundred women have joined the Union.

Last Saturday, April 26, Mrs. Frances N. Noel, one of the well known labor leaders of California, spoke in the Suffrage Booth on the work being done by her Commission on Mothers' Pension and Old Age Insurance along the lines of human life conservation. She said her own work had proved how necessary it was that women stand together and work for women, and that the work being done by the Congressional Union could not be over-estimated in that it was making women in all sections of the country think not of themselves but of other women—the women not yet free.

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, on Monday, April 26, spoke under the auspices of the Congressional Union in San Francisco, with Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney, California State Chairman for the Union, as chairman of the meeting. Mrs. Gilman made her usual brilliant, concise speech insisting that women realize at last their own power and stand together on a common ground. She said the greatest good growing out of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage was that it was giving to women in all sections the impetus they needed, one altruistic aim to work toward, enfranchised and unenfranchised women together.

On Wednesday, April 28, the day of the convening of the Woman's International Peace Conference at The Hague, one of the most interesting peace meetings ever held in San Francisco was held in the California Building at the exposition under the auspices of the Congressional Union. The great meeting was held in the largest available room, the ball room, and memorialized The Hague meeting and the feeling of all women that world enfranchisement for women means also world peace. It was the dominant note struck by Dr. David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Stanford University, and the speaker of the day. Dr. Jordan said he did not predict that The Hague meeting or the San Francisco meeting or any meeting of women could bring about peace, but that he did believe it was the women of this nation and European nations, the chief sufferers of all wars, who were now forming a public opinion that would prevent such waste in the future.

Three notable women speakers, representing the women of the world, made the meeting unusually appealing, Mrs. Sydney Sprague, the Persian worker for women, wife of the American Professor, spoke for the women of the Orient, to whom she is devoting her life. She told of the condition of the women of Syria and their present enforced slavery.

Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, one of the well-loved suffrage pioneers of California, President of the California State Equal Suffrage Association through California's two campaigns, presided over the meeting in place of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, who was detained by illness in her family, and spoke for the women of this country. Dr. Leonie Fordham of Switzerland, spoke for the women of Europe, and officially represented Mrs. May Wright Sewall in whose international work for peace she is co-operating.

A cablegram was sent to The Hague conference, inviting the International body to be present at the National Peace Federation at the exposition in July.

When the Woman's Board of the Exposition gave a luncheon and reception to the women of distinction connected with the various exhibits and included me, they did not perhaps realize that they were giving a Congressional Union luncheon. That is what it became as soon as the after-luncheon speakers took the floor. Dr. Elizabeth Denio, of the Fine Arts Palace, started the "landslide for national suffrage," by stating that she was born in the same town in which Susan B. Anthony was born and was glad that the national work was at last arousing interest and women beginning to realize what they owed to that great leader. Mrs. Frederick G. Sanborn, hostess, President of the Woman's Board of the Exposition, and a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, carried on the subject when she rose to speak. She spoke of the great work to be done and expressed her satisfaction in the fact that at last the women of California were settling down to work for the other thirty-seven unenfranchised states. She said that suffrage had done more to broaden women than any other one factor in their advancement and that it behooved the women in the free states to help pass on the light. I expressed my pleasure at finding Susan B. Anthony, and her amendment the topic of discussion at such a gathering in an enfranchised state. It is a coincidence that every notable speaker at this luncheon was a member of the Congressional Union. These women were: Dr. Frances S. Bradley, of the National Children's Bureau; Dr. Anna Strong, of the same exhibit; Miss Louise Brigham, the Box Furniture designer, and Mrs. Melville Johnson, senior docent of the Fine Arts Palace.

*Margaret Fay Whittemore.*

## Colorado

Headquarters: 324 *Seventeenth Street, Denver.*
Organizer: *Mrs. Margaret W. Kessler.*

MISS MARY BOLAND, formerly with John Drew of New York, and now playing the leading part at the Denham Theatre in Denver, joined the Congressional Union last week. Miss Boland is an ardent suffragist and greatly interested in the work for the Susan B. Anthony amendment. As a guest of the "Why Club" she spoke on suffrage at a luncheon given by the club in the Albany Hotel, and heartily endorsed the national suffrage amendment.

*Margaret W. Kessler.*

## District of Columbia

Headquarters: 1420 *F Street, Washington, D. C.*

MISS RUTH ASTOR NOYES, who has been in Colorado since November, building up an organization of the Congressional Union in that state, returned last week to Washington.

Miss Noyes is now in charge of the dinner to be given at Rauscher's on May 10, as the closing event of the District of Columbia Convention of the Congressional Union. Members are requested to engage a place at the dinner before May 10.

Last week Mrs. William Kent held a meeting of her committee of one hundred in the garden of her home at 1925 F Street. A report of the committee's work for the first third of the year was presented. At the close of the afternoon a number of new members were added to the committee, among them Mrs. W. E. Hardy, of Nebraska, a member of the Advisory Council; Miss Aline Solomons, of Washington, D. C., an "Iowa woman;" Miss Lucy Burns, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Bertha Helm, of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Henry George, Jr., wife of ex-Congressman George, of New York, and Dr. Mary Walker Eaton. Each member of the committee pledges $25 a year toward the maintenance of national headquarters.

On Friday evening M. Jules Bois spoke at Studio House, the home of Mrs. John Jay White, on "Woman After the War." The speech of this brilliant French thinker aroused very deep interest in Washington.

## Oregon

Headquarters: 514 *Eilers Building, Portland.*
Organizer: *Miss Virginia Arnold.*

THE news of our work is spreading and people are becoming more and more interested every day in the national enfranchisement of women.

Last Monday I was invited to the home of Professor and Mrs. W. F. Ogburn of Reed College to speak on the Federal Amendment before a group of students. They were introduced to me as a "bunch of red-hot feminists," half of whom, by the way, were young men. The latter were as keenly interested in the discussion of the Susan B. Anthony amendment as were the young women present. We had such a profitable time in the general discussion,—for the questions and answers were quite spirited,—that we didn't break up the meeting until almost 12 o'clock. A number of the students joined the Union.

I have also recently spoken before the Parent-Teacher Associations of the Lents and Stephens Schools. The members were very much interested.

We have just had a letter from Miss Whittemore saying that our contributions to the Suffrage Exhibit Booth were "interesting in the extreme and conspicuously placed for our many, many visitors." Mrs. Alva Lee Stephens of Portland has given us another valuable contribution, a poem, "The Voice of Freedom," written at the request of the Portland Business Men's Club for a large banquet given by the Progressive Business Men's Club, Ad Club, Commercial Club, Realty Board and Transportation Club, of Portland, in honor of Dr. Charles F. Aked, during the suffrage campaign in Oregon, September, 1912; the poem was used later by both press and platform in the cause of suffrage. It was recently read by Miss Elizabeth Eugenia Woodbury at the home of Mrs. Stephens on the occasion of a reception given to members and friends of the Congressional Union in honor of Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union. The book of poems, "She Flies with Her Own Wings," also written by Mrs. Stephens for the Rose Festival of 1912, together with the poem of the same title, set to music by the blind musician, Francis Richter, will be on display.

Besides this we have a poem, "In Honor of Charlotte Perkins Gilman," written by a Portland writer, Julian P. Scott, in honor of Mrs. Gilman when she spoke in Portland, March 30, 1915, under the auspices of the Congressional Union. Mrs. Gilman also spoke in Oregon during the state campaign.

We feel very fortunate in having a splendid photograph of Miss Kathryn Clarke, Oregon State Senator, to send to the fair. Miss Clarke has joined the Congressional Union.

Tuesday, for the first time in the history of Portland, suffragists sold papers on the street,—and a most successful sale it was, too. All the current numbers were disposed of. One man paid fifty cents for his paper as he said, "Well, I can't pass that by."

*Virginia Arnold.*

# Treasurer's Report

Make All Checks Payable to
*The Treasurer of the Congressional Union*
*1420 F St., Washington, D. C.*
This Will Save Much Inconvenience

TAKE a moment to think what it will mean to you in after years to have done all you possibly could to put the Susan B. Anthony amendment through Congress—to enfranchise all the now disfranchised women in the United States.

Then send the Congressional Union as generous a contribution as you can spare.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $100,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

*(Fund opened December 7th, 1913. Donations, membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.)*

### LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM APRIL 28 THROUGH MAY 4

| | |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Preston Satherwhite | $1,000.00 |
| Miss Gertrude Crocker, collected | 1.00 |
| Mrs. A. H. Bright, collected | 1.00 |
| Miss Elizabeth Smith | 3.00 |
| Mrs. George Latimer | 15.00 |
| "M. E. D." | 1.00 |
| Anonymous | 6.00 |
| Mrs. W. S. Thayer | 2.00 |
| Mrs. Henry George, Jr | 25.00 |
| Miss Cornelia Greenough | 2.00 |
| Collections | 1.00 |
| Membership fees | 8.50 |
| Receipts from bridge party given by Mrs. W. T. Burch | 38.00 |
| Total | $1,103.50 |
| Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist* | 62,890.96 |
| Total through May 4, 1915 | $63,994.46 |

## The Law of Change

TO those opponents of woman suffrage who entrench themselves behind the historical fact that "the fathers did not include it in the Constitution" we offer the wise remarks of Congressman Kent. During the debate on the Suffrage amendment in the House of Representatives Kent said:

"I am not worried about that particular convention perpetrated by our ancestors and known as the Constitution. This resolution to amend is a method of bringing that document down to date in one most important particular. I have sworn to 'uphold the Constitution without any mental reservation whatsoever' because the Speaker asked me to, and the right to amend is one of the features of that document which peculiarly excites my admiration."

Mr. Kent is not alone in thinking that the amending clause is one of the most inspiring provisions of that great document. It is through that clause that the Constitution may be kept in living, warm and human contact with the ever-changing needs of the people. * * * When folks are prone to invoke the Constitution as a sacred barrier against "innovations" let them remember that the Constitution itself bows to the divine law of change through which alone is civilization wrought.

—*Exchange.*

## Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers to The Suffragist

*(In this column we list the subscribers sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)*

### APRIL 27 THROUGH MAY 3

| | |
|---|---|
| Miss Virginia J. Arnold | 1 |
| Mrs. W. T. Burch | 2 |
| Mrs. Margaret Wood Kessler | 1 |
| Mrs. Kate Boeckh | 1 |
| Miss Doris Stevens | 1 |
| Mrs. Hazle B. Ewing | 3 |
| Mrs. A. H. Bright | 1 |
| Mrs. George H. Day | 2 |
| Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs | 1 |
| Miss Alice Paul | 1 |
| Miss Helen Paul | 1 |
| Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke | 1 |
| Miss Ruth Astor Noyes | 1 |
| | 17 |
| Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist* | 816 |
| Total to May 3 | 833 |

# Comments of the Press

## Congressional Union Deputation to Senator O'Gorman

SENATOR O'GORMAN, very powerful, with a wide chest and a thick beard, interesting sample of modern intelligence grafted on primitive man, is not friendly to woman suffrage.

He thinks the nation should not interfere in woman's rights, and says to women who ask his help:

"To permit the Federal Government to interfere with the suffrage is to destroy the fundamental rights of the States."

It's strange how sensitive statesmen are about interfering with the rights of the States or the rights of something when they happen not to want to do a thing.

President Wilson could not help woman suffrage because it was not in the Democratic platform. Mr. O'Gorman fears for the States.

This Government was established to free the inhabitants of this country from dictation and political slavery.

Men were given the right to vote that they might defend themselves.

The Constitution of the United States is planned to protect human beings against oppression of every kind.

The fundamental wrong upon which the American Revolution was based was England's system of taxation without representation.

The Government of the United States ought now to give freedom to women, and free THEM in 1915 from taxation without representation, as it freed the men from that kind of taxation in 1776.

Senator O'Gorman says the women are "in a hurry." They have waited almost 140 years—a fighter like Senator O'Gorman would not wait so long.

Senator O'Gorman, who will one day live to be asking the ladies for their votes, telling them how much he admires their qualities of mind and heart—MIND ESPECIALLY—made this remark to women who tried to make him look at woman suffrage from the right point of view:

"You, ladies, do not represent a majority. I could fill another room just as large as this with women who wanted me to do the opposite thing."

Of course, the Senator, even among his own acquaintances, might fill a large room with women who do not want to vote.

If he had lived in the South he could have filled the biggest room with colored ladies who did not want to be set free.

The South had many colored ladies and colored gentlemen, too, who did not want to leave "Old Massa." They WANTED to be slaves—they LIKED it. They were delighted to have somebody buy them shoes, feed them, take all responsibility and allow them to lead the idle life of colored slaves.

There are unfortunately still many white women like those slaves who did not want to leave "Old Massa." They like to be slaves—they like to have somebody boss them, rule them, dictate to them, pat them on the head and patronize them.

They like to play the role of clinging vines, and seem shocked when anybody suggests the vote or any other intellectual effort.

But, Senator O'Gorman, the fact that many colored women did not want to be free was not a sound argument against freeing the slaves.

And the fact that some white women—foolish, weak, feeble-minded—object to the use of their intelligence and of the vote, does not justify you or any other man in refusing to give the vote to women intelligent enough to want it.

You are young, energetic, and we hope will be in politics for a long time, Senator O'Gorman.

With all the friendly feeling that you know we have for you we predict that before long a good deal of that deep voice will be used in telling ladies just how it happened that, hastily and without thought, you failed to recognize their intellectual value, and the fact that they, by all means, OUGHT TO VOTE. For they are going to vote SOON.—*New York Journal, May 3.*

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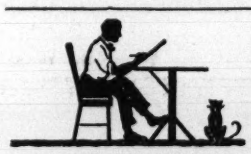
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